Mercy for the Rosenbergs—*Freda Kirchwey*

THE Nation

January 10, 1953

MIRACLE OR MIRAGE?
Union for Western Europe

BY KARL LOEWENSTEIN

Upsala College
Library
East Orange, N.J.

*

Dick Nixon: Art Commissar
Who Tried to Kill This Story?

BY GEORGE V. SHERMAN

*

The Crisis in Indian Policy
Open Letter to General Eisenhower

BY JOHN COLLIER

20 CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Dick Nixon: Art Commissar

San Francisco

THE business of rooting out the Communists and Communist sympathizers who infest the federal government should be fairly difficult—there are so many of them, according to the Republican press. But it should not be difficult at all to rid our federal buildings of Communist art. For one thing, no trial is necessary. And for another, no less a person than Vice-President-elect Nixon himself has already labeled much of that art as Communist.

As long ago as July 18, 1949, Mr. Nixon, then a member of the House, wrote to C. E. Plant, past commander of an American Legion post, regarding the paintings by Anton Refregier in the Rincon Annex of the San Francisco post office:

> I wish to thank you for your letter as to whether anything can be done about removal of Communist art in your Federal Building. . . . I realize that some very objectionable art, of a subversive nature, has been allowed to go into federal buildings in many parts of the country. . . . At such time as we may have a change in the Administration and in the majority of Congress, I believe a committee of Congress should make a thorough investigation of this type of art in government buildings with a view to obtaining removal of all that is found to be inconsistent with American ideals and principles.

In the matter of the Refregier murals Mr. Nixon's stand has powerful backing. Gordon A. Lyons, department adjutant of the California American Legion, in a letter to California Congressmen dated August 6, 1951, declared that the same view had been expressed by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Associated Farmers of California, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Republican Women's Council, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the Society of Western Artists, and various other groups.

There is one thing, however, which may slow up the elimination of Communist art. That is the fact that the major part of the Republican press, which has complained for so many years about Communist art in federal buildings, is now generally silent on the subject. For example, after the Nixon letter quoted above was published by the *Argonaut,* a San Francisco weekly magazine, on November 14, a staff worker in one of the three major wire services, each of which received a copy, wrote a story about the letter and controversy which was air-mailed to the New York office of the wire service. This story, however, never appeared. Even the four San Francisco daily papers, all strong supporters of the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, let the subject severely alone, though earlier they had eagerly taken part in the Refregier-murals controversy. They continued to let it alone, as did the wire services, when the *Argonaut* on November 28 published the Lyons letter under the heading "Support Grows for Nixon in Ousting Red Art." And they also reserved comment after the staunchly Republican *Argonaut* took them to task on December 19 in a lead editorial entitled "The S. F. Daily Press and the Refregier Murals."

THE REASON for this evident conspiracy of silence is an interesting speculation. It could scarcely be unwillingness to offend Refregier, for though he won the Hallmark Greeting Card Company's annual $2,000 prize for a Christmas-scene painting last month, he is still the subject of a seven-page dossier in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and thus by Congressional standards fair game, at least as a "fellow-traveler." It certainly could not be that the Republican press, surfeited with denunciations and viewings-with-alarm, feels that with the Republicans in power communism is no longer a danger and Red art no longer appealing.

Could it be fear of offending Mr. Nixon? Presumably the main office of the wire service queried Mr. Nixon about the story. Presumably also it would have used it if he had not objected. But to suppose that Mr. Nixon was opposed to publication of the story is to suppose that he has changed his mind about the murals, which implies either that he can no longer distinguish red so clearly as in the days of the Hiss trial or that his vision was cloudy then and is improving as he finds himself one heartbeat from the Presidency. Whatever the cause, his change of mind would be news, worth at least a stick of type in any paper or wire service that was not chiefly interested in sparing him embarrassment and thus sparing Eisenhower, who has already been sufficiently embarrassed by his teammate.

Perhaps the most plausible explanation for the silence imposed on the press is that Mr. Nixon's flat statement about Communist art in federal buildings was made solely for campaign purposes, in the interest not of the country but of his own advancement, and that being now safely in office, he does not wish to have the matter brought up again.

GEORGE V. SHERMAN

[*George V. Sherman is the pen name of a San Francisco journalist.*]

Happy New Year: Happy Days!

"The new era is here—for society. An era of lavish parties, with millionaires no longer afraid to release money openly for fun on the home front. Saturday night settled any lingering doubts as to the social safety of the splurge. Two enormous, extravagant debutante parties set thousands of dollars in motion around town."—*Nancy Randolph in the New York* Daily News, *December 29, 1952.*

"*Hollywood, January* 1—Wine, heady wine, flowed like a Texas oil gusher early today at this film capital's swankiest New Year's Eve party, tossed by a millionaire Texan. . . . The oilman, Tevis F. Morrow, spent more than $30,000 on the shindig to honor two of his Texas millionaire pals. He took over the swank Mocambo, with its two orchestras and three bars. Movie stars were among the 350 guests who danced the new year in in glittering bejeweled evening clothes and ten-gallon hats."—*Florabel Muir in the New York* Daily News, *January 2, 1953.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 176 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 10, 1953 NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

The Eighty-third Congress

The atmosphere of jolly good-fellowship in which the Eighty-third Congress met on January 3 should deceive nobody. It wasn't very real to begin with and it won't last. There is tension just under the surface among the Republicans, and conflicts are in early prospect between the parties, between factions cutting across party lines, and between Congress and the new Administration.

One of the first fights will be over the recommendations made by the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. The commission's excellent report laid down a blue-print of specific proposals which will certainly be used as the basis for an early attempt to rewrite the McCarran-Walter law. Just as certainly it will not be accepted by the Eighty-third Congress, but since General Eisenhower is on record as favoring revision there is at least a chance that modest changes can be forced through.

It is perhaps symbolic of Republican intentions that Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., the new Speaker, should have designated a bill to slash income taxes as H. R. 1. How a big tax cut is to be combined with a big defense budget and a possibly bigger Korean war will doubtless be revealed when the time comes. But one has only to read Speaker Martin's welcoming speech to realize that strange ideas are moving through the heads of our new Congressional leaders. Bracketing communism and socialism as "twin evils" spawned by Marxism, the Speaker denounced both as a threat to representative government, peace, and liberty. "Here in the United States the drift to socialism has been steady," he remarked with a straight face.

Green Light for Investigations

To check this and other subversive drifts a whole new round of investigations is promised. Joseph R. McCarthy, chairman of the Senate's Permanent Investigating Committee, will start a new hunt for subversives in government and the educational system. Representative Harold Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, will do the same. Senator Homer Ferguson, probably assuming Senator McCarran's place as head of the Internal-Security subcommittee, will carry on in the spirit of his Democratic predecessor. These three will engage in "loyalty" inquiries ranging from the government departments and the U. N. to school and college faculties, civic organizations, publishing houses; in fact, the range is likely to be as wide as the ambitions of the gentlemen in charge. According to William S. White, writing in the New York *Times* last Sunday, Senator McCarthy will probably "dominate this whole scene." His committee "has a mandate and jurisdiction that, for all ordinary purposes, are limitless." As the session opened, it did not look as if any effective resistance to this mania could be expected either in Congress or in the Administration.

Darkness at High Noon

The New York Film Critics made an excellent choice in selecting "High Noon" as the best motion picture of the year. It is the story, to quote the man who wrote it, "of a town that died because it lacked the moral fiber to withstand aggression." In addition to "High Noon," Carl Foreman has written the scripts for such fine films as "Champion," "Home of the Brave," "The Men," "Cyrano de Bergerac," and "Young Man with a Horn." In a way it is a pity that the announcement of the award could not have included excerpts from Mr. Foreman's dramatic and often moving testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Hollywood on September 24, 1951, in which he refused to answer questions about possible Communist Party membership although he had taken a voluntary oath that he was not a member of that or any party "dedicated to the overthrowal of the United States government by force and violence." For the fact is that despite this testimony—the record also included commendations from his commanding officers in the army and an award from the Paralyzed War Veterans of America for his film "The Men," which deals with paraplegic veterans—Mr. Foreman is blacklisted in the motion-picture industry today. Although many producers would doubtless like to avail themselves of his services as a writer—"High Noon" has been a great box-office success—none dares run the risks that might attach to any production bearing his name.

The hero of "High Noon" finds himself alone as, one by one, the fellow-townsmen to whom he desperately appeals for help in corralling a notorious killer and gunman put him off with excuses, each more feeble than the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 21
Mercy for the Rosenbergs *by Freda Kirchwey* 24

ARTICLES

Nato: Arms and Politics *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 25
European Union: Miracle or Mirage? *by Karl Loewenstein* 26
Proposals for Peace—III *by Joyce Cary* 28
Letter to General Eisenhower *by John Collier* 29
A Season of Purges *by Andrew Roth* 31
Chaim Weizmann *by Nahum Goldmann* 32

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Frontier Formula *by Oscar Handlin* 34
Critic and Craftsman *by Hayden Carruth* 34
Men Who Served Hitler *by Franz Hoellering* 35
Socialism in America *by Peter Gay* 36
Verse Chronicle *by Rolfe Humphries* 36
Books in Brief 37
Art *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 38
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 39

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 40

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Dick Nixon: Art Commissar *by George V. Sherman* opposite 21

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 498 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 40

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Editorial Director Carey McWilliams
Director, Nation Associates Lillie Shultz

Managing Editor: Victor H. Bernstein

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Contributing Editors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

last. There must be times these days when Mr. Foreman feels that he too has been deserted by those who should have helped him stand off the bullies and tough guys whose aggressions have so largely destroyed the moral fiber of the Western town that goes by the name of Hollywood.

Snowballs Are Not Weapons

The president of the Canadian Catholic Federation of Labor, with 90,000 members in Quebec, has announced that if the provincial police are not withdrawn from Louiseville and the strike against Associated Textiles settled, there will be a general strike. A walkout of the unions would not affect Montreal severely, but it would hit hard at American-owned aluminum and paper mills and at textile plants. The C. I. O. steelworkers promise support. The unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. are not likely to do anything to offend Premier Duplessis.

This strike of 900 French Canadians against an American firm in a little town seventy miles down the St. Lawrence from Montreal has been going on since March. A few days ago it erupted into violence, after Paul Benoit, head of the Montreal anti-subversive squad, invoked the Riot Act. The police shot one man through the jaw, beat up several, arrested twenty-six and carried them off to Montreal.

The union went through all the lengthy negotiations and arbitration required by Quebec law before calling the strike. The issue then was wages and union security. Now, since the mill has been opened with 300 strike-breakers, some drawn from farms around the village, the main demand is for the dismissal of the strike-breakers and the rehiring of the old employees, including those arrested, who were mostly officers of the union. The bishop of Three Rivers has spoken for the strikers, and the local priest defends them, saying snowballs are not weapons against revolvers, and that the company seems determined to break the union.

The spokesmen for the union appeal to labor outside Quebec for help, a new attitude on their part. The Riot Act has now been lifted, and negotiations are going on. But there can hardly be a French Canadian who does not know by now that *nos gars* have been beaten up by Premier Duplessis' provincial police in order to break a strike against an American company.

Mr. Acheson's Knotted Cord

In his testimony before the House judiciary subcommittee on the role that the State Department has played in the employment of American citizens by the United Nations, Secretary Acheson, quoting William McFee, said he did not intend "to snatch the knotted cord from the hand of God and deal out murderous blows" to his associates. We applaud the sentiment but wish that Mr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Acheson had been actuated by it more consistently. He and President Truman, asserting "executive privilege," have refused to give the subcommittee the names of middle-echelon State Department officials who "evaluated" material furnished them by the F. B. I. about American personnel at the U. N. But what about the thirty-eight American citizens working at the U. N. who have been publicly branded by the State Department as Communists or persons "believed to be Communists" on the basis of data which the F. B. I. has gathered but not evaluated?

The list of thirty-eight names was marked "secret" when it was first submitted to the McCarran committee, but by a little pressure the State Department was induced to change the rating to "restricted." The list might now be better labeled "notorious," since after being invested with immunity by inclusion in the committee's record, it has been put on the air and published in newspapers throughout the country. In submitting it John Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State, mildly "cautioned" the committee that the department "might have erred" in naming these individuals. And well it might! None of the accused had been given a hearing, nor did the department act on the basis of sworn testimony, nor have the accused any appeal from the conclusions of the "evaluators," who remain nameless! In damaging, perhaps irreparably, the reputation of thirty-eight citizens without a semblance of due process, the State Department has indeed snatched "the knotted cord from the hand of God" and dealt a murderous blow to the rights of the individual American.

A Symbolic Bonfire

While the world's statesmen are busy slamming frontiers in each other's faces, it is mildly encouraging to note that more than a thousand persons from different nations gathered recently on the bridge of St. Louis between Italy and France to burn the wooden frontier posts and a great heap of passports. This cheerful bonfire was organized by the European Federalists and was attended by Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, president of the European Constituent Assembly; Paolo Emilio Taviani, Italian Foreign Under Secretary; French Deputy Jacques Gérard, a member of the Council of Europe; and some Italian, French, and German Federalists. Signor Taviani was applauded when he said, "The edifice we want to build is not called French-Italian union; it is called Europe." The site of the symbolic unification ceremony was well chosen for it was across the bridge of St. Louis that the French Senegalese troops had rushed in 1940 to sack the Italian town of Ventimiglia and it was back over this bridge that the Italian troops had marched to occupy the French town of Menton. In the decades before the war many Italians crossed into France to find work. Today around Menton much of the terraced land lies fallow because there are not enough people to work it, while in Ventimiglia the unemployment rate is high and climbing. Let us hope everyone was listening last week when M. Gerard said, "Frontiers are the ruin of European countries, which are condemned to perish if they remain within their narrow and miserable national borders."

Budenz the Witness

The indictment of Owen Lattimore and the finding of the Loyalty Review Board that "reasonable" grounds exist to doubt the loyalty of John Carter Vincent—after twenty-eight years of service in the State Department—were necessarily closely related and nearly simultaneous acts. The failure of the Department of Justice to seek an indictment against Louis Budenz for perjury logically precipitated the ordeal that Lattimore and Vincent must now endure. Either Budenz was lying or they were lying. But Budenz could not be indicted without jeopardizing convictions that have already been secured on the basis of his testimony, as well as destroying his usefulness as a witness in future prosecutions. In addition to Lattimore and Vincent, Joseph Alsop, the columnist, has also directly contradicted Budenz. More recently, in connection with Budenz's appearance before the Cox committee, the following individuals have denied the charge of Communist Party membership he has leveled at them—namely, Dr. Linus Pauling, who has referred to Budenz as a "professional liar," Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School, Walter Gellhorn of the Columbia Law School, Corliss Lamont, Ira Reid, and Carey McWilliams. But no matter how many individuals contradict him, Budenz will continue to enjoy complete immunity. Like Whittaker Chambers, he is a Witness Against Communism; therefore his motives cannot be questioned or his veracity impeached. He is today one of the most powerful individuals in this country, since, as a witness, he stands above the law.

A Fair Press?

As usual, the wire services and newspapers featured the Budenz slanders and ignored or played down most of the denials. For example, even the New York *Times* placed two denials back among the obits and the shipping news. An honorable exception was the York *Gazette and Daily,* which in reporting the testimony of Budenz dropped the names of those he had mentioned and identified them only as "a leading professor," "a philosopher who teaches at a prominent university," and so forth. "We have not published the names of those labeled Communist in this instance by Louis Budenz," the editor explained, "because we do not choose to spread libelous matter about some of them, considered by us to be high-minded Americans, and because such libelous matter has been furnished by a person whose credibility we doubt."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mercy for the Rosenbergs

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHETHER Julius and Ethel Rosenberg live or die, their case will be tried over and over again in the minds of people everywhere. One need not question the ability or good faith of Judge Kaufman to recognize that there are weak spots in the evidence on which the Rosenbergs were convicted and sentenced. But at this eleventh hour such considerations are almost irrelevant. What remain important as the day of execution approaches are deeper considerations of humanity and mercy and an honest weighing of the Rosenbergs' offense against the irreparable punishment they face. It is not necessary to challenge their guilt; it is essential to ask whether the crime they committed, in the circumstances under which they committed it, justifies death. By refusing to grant the Rosenbergs judicial clemency Judge Kaufman last week reiterated his belief that it does.

Now President Truman must ask himself that question, and we profoundly hope he will find a different answer. Otherwise his conscience and that of the American people will be heavily burdened. We have not yet hardened ourselves to endure the ruthless dictates of "political justice"; we still reject concepts of vengeance and exemplary punishment. If the Rosenbergs die, we shall feel that both concepts presided at their execution.

It would be absurd to minimize the crime of which they were convicted. Whether or not it was "worse than murder," as Judge Kaufman declared, it was bad enough. But it was not treason, and it was not spying in behalf of an enemy country—however hard it is to keep that in mind in the atmosphere of cold war. Judge Kaufman takes issue with the frequent assertion that the Rosenbergs were guilty of peace-time espionage and that the death sentence is without precedent in such cases. They were sentenced, he says, for war-time espionage. "This court would not have the power to impose these sentences for peace-time espionage." But in thus demolishing one of the argmuents against their execution, he provides a new and possibly stronger one. For if their sentence is based only upon acts committed during the war, the contention that they were enlisted in a "conspiracy to destroy their own country" loses its force. Certainly they were not free to "decide for themselves" whether or not atom secrets should be given to Russia. But is not their undeniable guilt modified by the fact that Russia was our ally in the war and that our government was going to great lengths to keep it powerful and on our side? The Judge tries to brush aside this uncomfortable question by pointing out that the Rosenbergs' spying continued "right down to 1950." In doing so he falls into a trap of his own making—his previous assertion that peace-time espionage would not justify the death sentence.

The truth is, Judge Kaufman denies any validity to the extenuating effect of our war-time alliance with Russia by citing as a precedent the case of the German spies and saboteurs who slipped into this country in 1942. Few protests were heard, he says, against their execution after a military trial. He makes nothing of the fact that these spies were working for an enemy with which we were at war—our major enemy.

He ignores completely a further fact which would demolish this precedent, even were it a legitimate one. There were other German saboteurs who slipped into the United States after the lot he refers to. They were also tried and sentenced to death. But they were not executed while the war lasted, and when it ended and the problem of dealing with them arose, their sentence was commuted and they were sent to federal prison. The complete story of the German spies would provide an excellent precedent for reducing, not confirming, the sentence against the Rosenbergs.

THE Judge also did his best to counter the plea that the death sentence is far out of line with the penalties imposed for similar offenses in Britain and Canada. Klaus Fuchs, he says, received the maximum punishment possible under British law, and both Fuchs and Alan Nunn May pleaded guilty; in any case this country is under no obligation to "blindly follow the law of a foreign nation." One can only urge, in answer, that when our own law permits, we would do well to follow so pertinent an example of restraint and humanity. The alternative to a death sentence in the Rosenbergs' case would be a maximum of thirty years in prison, as compared with the fourteen years given Fuchs. Thirty years would seem to be enough to pay for the crime of espionage committed under the circumstances outlined above.

Recent petitions for clemency signed by such sober-minded citizens as the Reverend Donald B. Cloward, Baptist leader of Mr. Truman's church; Professor H. Richard Niebuhr of the Yale Divinity School; Dr. Harold E. Urey, atomic scientist and Nobel prize-winner; Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and several hundred more have strongly urged the moral duty of exercising clemency in this case. The latest petition, after conceding the fairness of the trial, declared that commutation of the death sentence would "provide a striking demonstration that the spirit and behavior of a democratic people can be . . . objective, restrained, and humane," serving as an example to "multitudes in all countries, including the totalitarian lands."

We commend these words to President Truman in the firm belief that no final act would better prove his courage and independence than the granting of clemency to these two convicted spies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nato: Arms and Politics

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THERE have been many theories circulating in the last days of 1952 as to the nature of what has become known as the "Atlantic crisis." While the first half of the year was characterized by a moderate optimism on the problem of recruiting the armies planned by the Western bloc, increasing alarm has been voiced since October. When the North Atlantic Treaty Council finally met in Paris on December 15, the prospects looked dark. It was feared that the ministers would fail to agree even on "infrastructure," the bases and communications building program. General Ridgway was asking for at least $473,000,000 for 1953 and 1954. He had to be satisfied with the $229,660,000 which was approved for bases and communications work. This was the result of hard bargaining, and in the last forty-eight hours General Ridgway had to adopt a very serious tone to obtain that much. The Council finished its tenth ministerial session in a spirit of consolidating and improving its existing resources in 1953 rather than considerably increasing them. The British were particularly active in keeping expenses below those authorized during the last twelve months, but no European member wishes the original figures restored.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the achievements of Nato, and the Russians will be the last to make that mistake. The objective, agreed to at Lisbon, of increasing the West's forces by the end of 1952 to fifty divisions and 4,000 first-line planes seems to have been "substantially achieved." However, while the Lisbon session had laid down a tentative target of seventy-five divisions for 1953, the final communiqué from Paris prudently refrained from mentioning a 1953 target.

Even more serious than the purely military difficulties concerning the number of divisions, first-line planes, and bases are the political and economic difficulties. In France both the conception of an Atlantic Pact and that of a European community have lost ground, and the Nato meeting was held in the shadow of the sensational attacks by Herriot and Daladier on German rearmament. The most thorny of all the problems lies in the unresolved contradiction that while Germany provides the central element in the American conception of Nato, the other members are more afraid of German rearmament than of anything else.

Another essential point is the contrary concept of Nato held by Europe and the United States. To Americans the difference between "containment" and "rollback" may not have great importance. The average American is apparently converted to the idea of an anti-Communist crusade—or so the election returns would suggest. But in the eyes of the average European there is an enormous difference between "containment" and "rollback" as applied to the Russian problem. Even officially, Western Europe, apart from Adenauer's Germany, which has identified its policy with the objectives pursued by Washington, has viewed with increasing alarm the evolution of the Atlantic Pact in the last three years.

The economic obstacles are well known. For the countries of Western Europe to rearm within the period asked for by the Americans would have meant forfeiting the hope not only of a balanced budget but also of new, much-needed industrial equipment and an adequate level of agricultural production. And this would lead fatally to economic crises, with the consequent aggravation of conflicts between the classes. Not even an old Conservative like Churchill could face such a prospect cheerfully. "It was [Mr. Churchill's] desire for a new look at the concept of European defense plans," wrote Ned Russell in the New York *Herald Tribune,* "that resulted at the recent Paris conference of the Nato Council in scrapping both the military program laid down at Lisbon last February and the even more elaborate program proposed by General Eisenhower in September, 1951."

But if the wish to avoid disastrous economic effects is a permanent factor, resistance to being led into a policy of challenging Russia has proved an even more effective brake. As I have insisted many times, it is upon the issue of German militarization that the question of war or peace is likely to be decided. The more the original character of the Atlantic Pact has been modified by the growing American tendency to talk about "liberation" rather than "containment," the greater has become the reluctance of the French and other Europeans to being thrown into the arms of the German generals. German rearmament at the service of the idea of "containment" was serious enough; but German rearmament under a concept of "liberation" looks to Europe like a fantastic risk.

The respite resulting from German and French delay in ratifying the treaties with Bonn was used at the Nato Paris meeting to gain yet another respite. During the present French government crisis, politicians of right and left have insisted that there is no hurry about the creation of the European army. The drive to delay a final commitment on Germany is precisely what is holding up the formation of a new Cabinet.

In view of these undisputed facts, it would be a dangerous oversimplification to judge the problems of Nato from a strictly military point of view. The military were naturally disappointed that the Paris meeting slashed expenses and declined to make certain decisions. But the politicians and statesmen have welcomed this indecision because it allows diplomacy to keep on trying to find solutions that will not destroy all the bridges between East and West. If this is not borne in mind, then the meaning of the Paris meeting will be lost.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

European Union: Miracle or Mirage?

BY KARL LOEWENSTEIN

IN THE recent Presidential campaign American support of the unification of Western Europe, and of German remilitarization as its integral part, was the single non-controversial aspect of the foreign policy of the Truman Administration. Does such unanimity imply that American public opinion is genuinely bipartisan, or only that the current fixation on the containment of communism prevents a critical analysis of this issue?

The noble concept of European Union has made more progress in the last five years than at any other time in history. To some it appears to offer Europe its one hope of achieving prosperity on the American level by creating a single market. To others it represents a "third force" which might hold the balance of power between the colossi of the West and the East. To others the historical parallels with this country and other federal states are persuasive.

From the start two schools of thought have been in conflict on how to accomplish European Union. The federalists insist on the priority of a political authority with sufficient power over the national governments to achieve unification. The functionalists favor the gradual Europeanizing of important segments of economic life, leading ultimately to political federation. The Council of Europe, established at Strasbourg by the reluctant governments of the Brussels Pact states under pressure of the "European movement," was a lame compromise between the two approaches. All its brief history (since 1949) reveals its impotence, allegedly because the Council of Ministers stymied the programs of the ambitious Consultative Assembly; actually because the organization, aside from the unrepresentative character of its parliament-appointed delegates, was incapable of "selling" the European idea to the masses of the fifteen participating states.

However, a contributory cause of Strasbourg's failure was that it ran into competition with the American functional approach. Emphasis shifted from political to economic cooperation. The Marshall Plan (European Economic Cooperation), conceived and executed with the sound purpose of raising living standards and thus reducing the appeal of the Communist promise of salvation, measurably contributed to the economic recovery of most of the sixteen participating nations. But it fell short of serving as a vehicle for European unification. While making the aid-receiving nations aware of common European needs it did not promote their solidarity. Each was eager to cut for itself the largest possible slice of the American cake. Moreover, the assistance failed to filter down to the masses. With its understandable accent on free enterprise and its unavoidable intervention in domestic affairs, the Marshall Plan provoked resentment against the donors. Increasingly the recipient governments and their business communities demanded trade instead of aid, which the rising protectionism of the American Congress was believed to deny them.

Against this backdrop of the desire to emancipate Europe from American economic tutelage the Schuman, or rather Monnet, Plan must be evaluated. The plan provides for the pooling of the coal and steel resources of the six nations constituting the inner core of the Continent, or "Little Europe"—France, Western Germany, Italy, and the three Benelux countries. In proposing it the French pursued a triple aim: (1) to regain their prestige by assuming European leadership; (2) to create a single market for the bulk of production, thus freeing Western Europe from American charity; (3) to contain Germany's economic power by harnessing German heavy industry to European requirements.

No more revolutionary step toward European economic integration has ever been taken than formation of the Coal and Steel Community, which began to operate last August. Whether it was a leap into the dark or a well-constructed bridge leading to European unification, only time can tell. As yet the scheme lacks enthusiastic defenders except for the ministerial bureaucracies of the governments that fashioned it—and the American government, which worked ceaselessly for its completion. Big business is suspicious of its potentiality as a machine for super-national planning, and labor is suspicious of it as a super-cartel and as official recognition of technocratic and managerial control. About its undemocratic character there is no doubt. The "Assembly" is only a democratic façade. To satisfy federalist aspirations, a Constitutional Committee was created to draw up a political constitution for Western Europe, under which the Coal and Steel and the Defense communities and other future European organizations would be operated by common European organs. It is hoped that this attempt will improve on the Strasbourg record.

Whatever the objections, there will be few who would not indorse the effort to build an economically integrated Europe, ending the internecine competition of fragmented nationalisms. But the plan is vitiated by two grave and seemingly incurable defects: (1) it is applied

KARL LOEWENSTEIN is professor of political science at Amherst College.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to a truncated Europe in which the Iron Curtain has cut off Western production centers from their complementary food and raw-material sources as well as from their markets in the East; (2) Britain does not and will not join. Both British parties are adamantly opposed to a merger of sovereignties that would withdraw large segments of the national economy from parliamentary control and would be irreconcilable with Britain's position in the Commonwealth of Nations and the Empire.

GIVEN time for development and adjustment, the chance of European economic unification is by no means bad. But organic growth is stunted by American pressure to recruit military allies in the cold war. European militarization has superimposed on European unification an element wholly alien to and, possibly, destructive of it. American opinion has been misled into believing that common defense against a possible aggressor is a powerful incentive to unification. Nothing is farther from the truth. The Western Europeans are by no means indifferent to the danger from the East, but they do not share the American belief in its imminence or in the ultimate showdown which would turn their lands into uninhabitable radio-active swamps.

The reasons for such optimism are complex. The European governments must choose between spending their insufficient revenues on economic rehabilitation or on rearmament. If the latter is chosen, the living standard of the masses will drop to a point where they may be susceptible to Communist blandishments; this, in turn, would endanger existing middle-of-the-road governments, none of which are supported by a reliable majority. There is no escape from this dilemma, since under the Mutual Assistance and Mutual Security acts American financial aid to civilian economies has been sharply reduced. No wonder that Nato, the first result of America's search for allies, is unpopular, believed to be aimed as much at providing us with a glacis and man-power in a war against the Soviets as at serving European defense needs. Pentagon pressure overreached itself at Lisbon. By now American opinion unhappily realizes that the military commitments undertaken by Europe had to be scaled down drastically, though in view of the existing military build-up a Russian invasion of Western Europe would be no longer a walkover.

Moreover, to the European governments and their peoples the immediate fear of Germany has begun to overshadow the more remote fear of Russian expansion. Germany's recovery has outstripped that of all other Western European nations. The neighbors look at Germany without the roseate glasses of John J. McCloy. The same ruling class that carried the Reich into the First World War and flung itself with Hitler into the Second is in the saddle again. Denazification has failed signally; democratization as yet has made not much of a dent in the authoritarian habits of the government. When the Truman Administration convinced itself that Western Europe could not be defended without German divisions, Europeans became deeply alarmed.

To counter the danger of German membership in Nato or, what seemed even worse, the remilitarization of Germany on an independent basis, the French announced (October, 1950) the Pleven plan for a European army in which the national contingents of the six Schuman Plan nations would be merged. The French skilfully dressed this up as another instalment of European unification. The Adenauer government eagerly took the bait: for its share in Western defense Germany would win, through a replacement of the onerous Occupation Statute by "Contractual Relations," its full sovereignty. After most difficult negotiations, in which the United States was more than an innocent bystander, the six governments signed the European Defense Community (E. D. C.) treaty on May 27, 1952. Again it is to be noted that the group is confined to "Little Europe," controlled by Catholic governments, and that the British stayed out.

E. D. C. has little to do with European unification. It is a shotgun marriage in which the American government, in the person of High Commissioner McCloy, served as the by no means disinterested marriage broker. Nor are the motives of the partners more than superficially "European." To the French it offers the chance of delaying full-scale and uncontrolled German rearmament. Germany's misgivings about remilitarization are alleviated by the prospect of regaining its position of hegemony, with an American alliance in the bargain. What the French fear, and the Germans cannot but hope for, is that the German territories lost to the East will become a European problem which may easily drag the partners into a war they abhor. Once again militarily strong, the Germans may act on their own, either forcing Moscow to agree to German unification on their terms or, failing this, trading unification for an economic alliance with the Soviets. If this contingency may seem remote to those who take the present German aversion to communism at its face value, they should recall the tremendous temptations the East has to offer German industry and labor in the industrialization of Asia, particularly of China. Moreover, cooperation with Russia conforms to German tradition, which from Frederick the Great to Rathenau and Ribbentrop considered it the rock-bottom principle of national foreign policy.

DURING recent weeks progress toward European unification has come to a screeching halt. In both France and Germany ratification of the E. D. C. treaty has run into road blocks. France, militarily tied down in its hopeless struggle in Indo-China, shrinks from underwriting German rearmament, which, once legalized, no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Proposals for Peace—III

BY JOYCE CARY

THE only hope for peace is an international law with teeth, and some world power not afraid to use the teeth. That does not exclude a democratic system for the nations. The United States is a federation under law, but it is also democratic. In fact, a democratic system is required, for a legal system must be modified and developed to meet new situations. If you say that a federal system is not applicable to the world problem because the nations have different languages and religions, the answer is that the Swiss Federation includes three different languages and two different religions, and also that the old empires, from the Roman to the British, which secured peace throughout most of the world for long periods, maintained the law over a great variety of peoples in every stage of development.

The imperial system is out of date; it could not handle the new violence of national agitation. But it had to be replaced, and so we saw first the League of Nations and then the United Nations assuming responsibility.

If the United Nations should fail for want of teeth, you may be sure that some other authority will take its place. World government is already in sight, although probably at a considerable distance. What that distance is nobody knows, or what the difficulties, perhaps the wars, by the way. But it is certainly coming, and this is a good hope for all New Years.

[*Joyce Cary is a distinguished British novelist. His latest book is "Prisoner of Grace." Others which have been widely read in this country are "Mr. Johnson," "The Moonlight," "Herself Surprised," "The Horse's Mouth," and "A Fearful Joy."*]

power on earth could restrain within treaty limits. The German generals, from Scharnhorst to Seeckt, were past masters in circumventing them.

Objections to ratification on the German side are more complex. The Saar issue has now officially taken the place of Alsace as the trouble spot in Franco-German relations. The settlement favoring France in the elections of November 30, 1952, is accepted by German nationalism as only temporary. Ratification is also opposed by the neutralist and pacifist movement supported primarily by the Protestant church, which is alarmed at the prospect of a "Little Europe" of Catholic states. German youth of all classes is genuinely anti-militarist. Yet Dr. Adenauer's crude and America's subtle persuasion are slowly reconciling German opinion to remilitarization and conscription. Powerful pressure groups of war veterans, shot through with old and new Nazis, see their day dawning.

Opposition to rearmament is spearheaded by the strongest party in the Bundestag, the Social Democrats, and the affiliated trade unions. It should be well understood that the Socialists are by no means hostile to European unification. Opposition to the treaty has three chief sources: (1) It would permanently block reunion with Eastern Germany, since the Soviets would never agree to a united Germany tied to the Western defense system. Aside from emotional reasons, unification would serve the Socialists' political interests because with Eastern Germany added they would be sure of an electoral majority. (2) Remilitarization would further intrench heavy industry, traditionally allied to the military technocrats. At least in Germany militarism and democracy have proved incompatible. The government's intention of creating a "democratic" army instead of the Prussian type of the past is given little credence. Even in the United States the civilian government finds it at times difficult to check the military. (3) The Social Democrats are the only post bellum party that takes seriously the democrati premises and procedures of the Bonn-constitution.

WERE American opinion less obsessed by the cold war, the recent constitutional crisis in Germany arising from the ratification struggle would have found more understanding here. The legal and political implications of the case before the Federal Constitutional Court at Karlsruhe are far too complex to be treated in one short article. Their essence is briefly this: When the Bonn constitution was drafted, it deliberately omitted any provisions about military powers. Militarization was prohibited by Allied Control Council legislation. Though the latter by now has fallen into abeyance, it still remains necessary to add to the constitution provisions for the exercise of military powers and to assign such powers to specific government organs. The Socialist contention seems incontrovertible. Since the required constitutional amendment can be adopted only by a two-thirds' majority, for which Social Democratic votes are indispensable, the government is trying to sidestep the amendment by the specious argument that it can proceed to set up the military establishment and introduce conscription on the basis of the provision of the constitution (Article 24, Section 1) which authorizes it, by simple majority, to transfer sovereign rights to international organizations. Months ago the Federal Constitutional Court was requested by both the Social Democratic Party and the federal President, Dr. Heuss, to decide this constitutional issue. All contestants are supported by an unprecedented barrage of expert legal artillery. For Germany this is the first and the crucial test of the new constitution.

Dr. Adenauer and the authoritarian-minded bureaucracy which writes his briefs are fully aware that, if left to legal arguments alone, the court as the custodian of the constitution would rule against them. By deft procedural maneuvering they have succeeded in casting doubt on the political impartiality of the court and by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inducing President Heuss to withdraw his request have damaged his prestige and that of the court as well.

How the court, under these pressures, will decide—possibly next month—is difficult to foretell. But this much is certain: if the decision goes to the government, ratification of the defense treaty by a subservient parliamentary majority will not be accepted by the Socialist opposition or public opinion in general. If, however, a constitutional amendment is required, the treaty is doomed for the time being, at least until after the election next summer, in which the Socialists hope to win a majority. With the defeat of the treaty, the American government would also be defeated. If the Germans fail to ratify it, France and the other partners, with great relief, will likewise refrain from ratification. In other words, the miracle European unification according to the American formula will become a mirage.

What, then, are the chances of European unification? Americans would be well advised to regard it, not in the abstract terms of a desirable goal for strengthening the free world, but in the realistic context of the German problem. For the time being two currents carry the European idea. There is on the one hand the sincere Europeanism of an intellectual élite. This, however, has not penetrated the masses, and without a mass basis it will not succeed. On the other hand the idea of unity is stimulated by the urgent desire of Germany's neighbors to contain its resurgent power within the limits of a European organization. But fear and distrust are too rickety a foundation to hold up an enduring European structure. The two currents, therefore, are mutually contradictory. If European unity, the Grand Design of our time, fails because for political reasons it is coupled with military expediency, it may suffer a setback from which recovery will take more time than mankind can afford.

Letter to General Eisenhower

BY JOHN COLLIER

THE Indians of the United States and Alaska are looking to you, General Eisenhower, for rescue. I state their case bluntly.

Since May, 1950, an attempt has gone forward to wreck the federal Indian Service, repudiate the Indian-trusteeship obligation of the United States, and spread palsy through Indian group and individual life. Merely to stop this administrative and social genocide will not be enough. A work of healing, of reconstruction and new construction, is desperately called for.

The matter is more important than the size of our Indian population would suggest. There are 450,000 Indians in this country and Alaska, but there are more than 40,000,000 Indians south of the Rio Grande. The trusteeship obligation of the United States toward its Indians is our oldest national obligation toward any minority group and is buttressed by treaties between the United States and hundreds of sovereign Indian tribes, by numerous statutes, and by an unbroken line of Supreme Court pronouncements.

It is for its bearing on the future that I summarize here the policy and practice of the last two and a half years in Indian relations. But before doing so I wish to recall the things that were attempted and done by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt and by President Truman in his first five years.

The Hoover-Roosevelt Indian policies were undeviating. First, the responsibility for service to Indians was distributed among the branches of the federal government which serve everybody else, such as the United States Public Health Service, the Department of Agriculture, the Social Security Board. The ratio of services by the Indian Bureau to services to Indians by all federal agencies was consistently cut down.

Second, with statutory authority, responsibility for service to Indians was shifted steadily to the states and their subdivisions. The bulk of all Indian children were placed in local non-federal schools. Health services in most of the Midwest and the Northwest and along the Pacific Coast became a state function.

Third, Indian tribes and local groups were permitted and helped to organize for mutual aid and, in regions where conditions required it, for limited local self-government. This development of Indian self-help, pursuant to statute, was underwritten through more than 200 constitutions and charters. Indian economic production was greatly increased, and Indians proved themselves to be the safest credit risk in the United States.

All these Hoover-Roosevelt policies were carefully worked out within the letter and spirit of the treaties, Congressional agreements, and other bilateral commitments between the government and the Indians.

I come now to the year 1950, when Dillon S. Myer was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Mr. Myer had gained distinction through his proper action in breaking up with great rapidity the concentration camps

JOHN COLLIER, formerly Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is now president of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs. He is the author of "Indians of the Americas."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into which 110,000 Japanese American citizens and their parents had been imprisoned after 1941. These camps of the War Relocation Authority had no possibilities for permanence. The people in them were heterogeneous groups, herded in from many neighborhoods and held there by force. They had no proprietary interest in the camps and never considered a future there.

When he became Indian Commissioner, Mr. Myer carried over from the War Relocation Authority his formula of "withdrawal" and "relocation." But the Indians live in genuine and permanent human communities; their reservations and other homelands are theirs by proprietary right; their status is not that of prisoners of the United States but of citizens, with all the constitutional rights of citizens.

There have been other paroxysms of "withdrawal" in United States Indian affairs, from as long ago as 1870 on. Invariably the result was to turn Indian property over to whites, demoralize the community life and personality of the Indians, increase the costs of the Indian Bureau, and multiply its arbitrary controls over the group and personal transactions of Indians.

COMMISSIONER MYER'S pseudo-"withdrawal" has been like the earlier ones. The budget of the Indian Bureau has been doubled, not diminished; for the current fiscal year Mr. Myer tried to treble it. Administrative controls have been wound like Gulliver's threads around Indian political, industrial, and personal life, and Indian properties have been thrown open to white seizure.

Moreover, this "withdrawal," like the others, has been welcomed by certain elements in Congress whose chief interest is the separation of Indians from their lands, water rights, and other properties. Like other "withdrawing" commissioners, Mr. Myer has built a Congressional machine which has tried to dominate the Secretary of the Interior and to inhibit the actions of the Chief Executive in relation to Indian affairs.

The consequences, in the large, have been to drive out of the Indian Service much of its best personnel, to paralyze or misdirect the people not driven out, to swell the power of faithless Indian Bureau officials, and to create in the tribes a feeling of desperation and mounting wrath.

I have stated that the distribution of Indian Bureau responsibilities among other federal agencies, the states and their subdivisions, and the tribes themselves was proceeding consistently and rapidly before 1950. Under Commissioner Myer these decentralizing trends have been stopped. The Indian Bureau has been steadily recapturing authority, and the operation has been described with complete falsity as the "withdrawal of the Indian Bureau."

The history of Indian affairs has been determined, as I said, by treaties and other bilateral agreements, by a great many statutes, and by Supreme Court decisions. This history is not over but is being continued in these commitments and in the implementation of federal trusteeship. The drive of Commissioner Myer has been toward the administrative eluding of the bilateral agreements and of the constitutional and civil rights of the Indians and also, through attempted legislation, toward the bilateral destruction of the contractual commitments. With Indian consent if he can get it, without Indian consent if necessary, Commissioner Myer has sought to destroy the trusteeship system both by administrative action and by attempted legislation.

The reason why it is not improper to dwell on the immediate past in this open letter can be stated in a few words. The immediate past could become the lethal future.

The program called "withdrawal"—which is no withdrawal, but a renewed concentration of control in the Indian Bureau—has won important Congressional support. Not because it has produced financial economies: it has produced great financial extravagances. No, simply because the Indians have large properties which they can protect under federal trusteeship and cannot protect under the Myer program.

But there is a greater danger than the selfishness of Congressmen, and it makes one fear that Commissioner Myer's plans may go on even though he does not go on as commissioner. This danger is the trend, with which we are all sadly familiar, in American life at this moment to consider that human, social, and ethnic "differentness" —anything that holds itself out from the fiction of the American melting-pot—is anti-American, un-Christian, outmoded, and perhaps disloyal or barbarous.

The United States has not only its Indian responsibility. The United States is in the world, as you, General Eisenhower, so fully know. And that world is a world of human, ethnic, and cultural diversity. If the administrative assumptions of the last two and one-half years were to be carried over by the United States from Indian affairs to the world, the results would be fearful indeed. But what we cannot curb in our behavior at home, we may not be able to curb in the wide world.

I urge you, General Eisenhower, to do much more than just replace Commissioner Dillon S. Myer with a man of good-will. Commissioner Myer is a man of good-will. I urge you to find an Indian commissioner with sophisticated understanding of the basic American concept of due process of law, with respect for human differences, and with sympathetic knowledge of the facts of Indian life. I beg you to give your personal attention to the situation that has been brought fatefully into being in the last two and one-half years. If you will give attention to the subject—your own attention—there can be no fear as to the event.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Season of Purges

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

THE tone of the London *Daily Worker* is seldom defensive, and its stridency has increased as the paper's circulation has dropped. Communist Party membership also has fallen from a peak of 60,000 in 1945 to 30,000; the party is no longer represented in Parliament, and its influence in the country, except in certain key trade unions, has been reduced to a fraction of what it was at the end of the war. On one subject, however, the *Daily Worker* had been very much on the defensive for weeks—the recent Prague trials and the charges of anti-Semitism arising from them. Thus when the Jewish Board of Deputies recently announced that it would hold a protest meeting, the *Daily Worker* gently reminded it that the Communists had held no such meeting to protest against the rearmament of Germany and that anyway the chief rabbi of Czechoslovakia had told the *Daily Worker's* diplomatic correspondent in Prague, himself a Jew, that no anti-Semitism existed there.

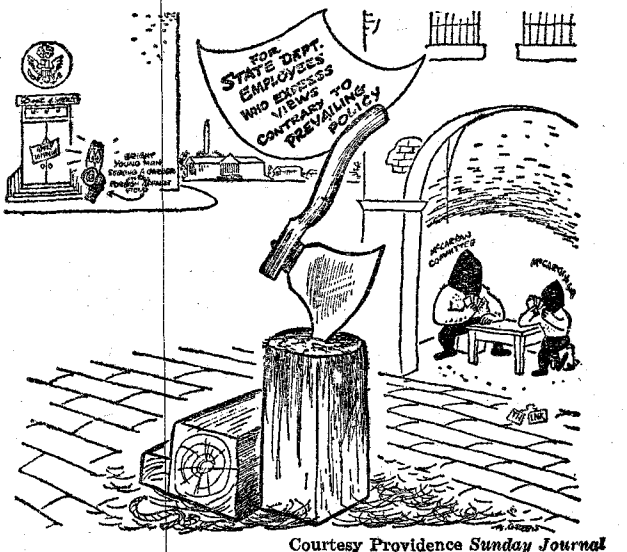
This was the first Communist trial that British leftists could watch with any background knowledge enabling them to judge it. In previous Moscow-style trials few persons in this country had had any contact with the accused. But three of the men hanged in Prague had spent the war years in London—former Foreign Minister Vladimir Clementis, who was in the Benes government in exile, and Otto Sling and Ludwig Freyka (originally Freund). Freyka was a Sudeten German Jew who joined the Communist Party in his youth and became editor of the Sudeten edition of the German Communist daily *Rote Fahne*. This was a dangerous job, particularly for a Jew, when Hitler was taking over the Sudetenland. After the Nazis marched in, a fund to which many prominent British liberals contributed was used to bring Freyka, among other Jewish refugees, to England. The fact that he was rescued from the Nazis by a "capitalist organization" was one of the charges against him. As a final degradation, Freyka was forced to attack those who had once saved him.

To Britons the Prague charges appeared particularly ridiculous because of their references to ex-Member of Parliament Konni Zilliacus and the foreign correspondent of the *New Statesman and Nation,* Alexander Werth. "I can imagine Konni as a ballet dancer as easily as I can imagine him as an 'imperialist agent,'" one M. P. said jokingly. Both Zilliacus and Werth have, as a matter of fact, been particularly unswerving in plowing a left-liberal furrow, although self-interest would have made both of them bear to the right.

The disillusionment caused by the Prague trial has hit the Communists where it hurts: they have lost ground among the middle-class intellectuals whose names they desperately need to make an impression in a country that still venerates respectability. One of those who said they had had a "revulsion of political feeling as a result of the recent judicial proceedings in Prague," was Benjamin Frankel, a British composer and musician who had been a party member for twelve years. He wrote to the *Daily Worker* to protest against the "indecent haste with which the ultimate penalty" was being applied, but found its pages closed to him, and he had to announce his resignation in the correspondence columns of the *New Statesman.* The number of approving letters he has received from former party sympathizers proves that many fellow-travelers have been similarly affected. He had made many allowances, he said, for what he considered undemocratic procedures in Communist countries because these countries had no democratic tradition. But when they occurred in Czechoslovakia, his eyes were opened.

After Frankel's public apostasy, it was learned that a number of other resignations had been handed in privately. Mervyn Jones, the successful young novelist, disclosed that he had resigned eighteen months ago. Many people have hoped for a statement from Dr. J. B. S. Haldane, who quit the party quietly in 1951 because he could not swallow Lysenko.

The Prague trial, by causing a revulsion against com-



Courtesy Providence *Sunday Journal*

Tending to Dampen One's Ambition

ANDREW ROTH is a contributing editor now writing from London.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Comment

Washington—A request that all Indiana universities and colleges bar New Deal professors who have worked with the last two Democratic administrations was made today by Republican Representative John V. Beamer, Wabash. He addressed letters urging this blacklisting to the five colleges in his district—Taylor University and Huntington, Marion, Anderson, and Manchester colleges. He also sent it to Indiana, Purdue, and Notre Dame universities and Wabash College. His letter states that it is his hope that the Indiana schools will not employ on their teaching staffs those who have been "espousing and promulgating the cause of socialism or communism in various ways. . . . He feels that they could further poison the minds of the young people, who are in their plastic age."—*Evansville, Indiana,* Press, *December 9.*

munism, might have made the United States more popular here in comparison had it not been followed by the indictment of Owen Lattimore. This reminded people that the United States, in fighting communism, has taken over some of its conformist pressures. When Professor Lattimore was here last January he impressed everyone with his moderation: his position on China was even more conservative than that of the British business men with whom he worked in China in the '20's.

People who had been shocked by the brutal opportunism of the Communist judicial system in Prague were somewhat upset to read in the *Times* (December 8) that the Lattimore indictment was "ordered by the [American] Attorney General soon after the election results were known. . . . In initiating the Lattimore trial, it is pointed out, the Truman Administration is covered whatever the result may be. It would, of course, be satisfactory to the Administration if the professor's innocence were proved by the court in the first few months of Republican rule." But if it is not, Mr. Truman can claim that his Administration had him indicted. It is not the man's innocence but the best interest of the party that counts in Washington as in Prague.

Of course there is a considerable difference between the two legal systems. Instead of two years or so of solitary confinement and psychological torture, Mr. Lattimore has only had three years of McCarthy-McCarran harassment. Instead of facing a farcical trial, Mr. Lattimore will be able to fight, with skilled legal aid, for his complete vindication. And if he is none the less convicted he will not hang. There *is* a difference, even if Mr. Lattimore cannot be expected to be greatly impressed by it at present.

Chaim Weizmann

BY NAHUM GOLDMANN

Jersusalem

CHAIM WEIZMANN was perhaps the most perfect synthesis in our time of the two great geographic-cultural trends that have shaped the contemporary Jew; no other man of our time has combined to such an extraordinary degree Eastern European Jewishness and Western European culture.

He was not a traditional Jew in the religious sense, but he had a profound reverence for Jewish tradition in all its forms. The story has been told of him that in the days of the blitz in England he would take the Bible to the shelter with him and read it for hours. This was not motivated by the superstition so common in the face of death. It was a characteristic expression of his inseparable link with Jewish discipline.

His deep attachment to his family, so movingly expressed in his autobiography, was part of his attachment to all traditional Jewish forms. The quality and habits of his intellect were typically Jewish. His was primarily an analytical mind, accustomed to antithetical thinking; it was an agile mind, and brilliancy in dispute and argumentation was his in an extraordinarily high measure.

Dr. Weizmann had that propensity for irony which is also characteristic of so many Jewish minds and is a reflection of the garnered heritage of an ancient people too wise to be impressed by ephemeral achievements. He possessed the combination of skepticism and faith typical of the Jews as a whole, skepticism with regard to powers that pass with the day and unshakable faith in the eternal values.

As he moved among the so-called great of the world, he bore himself proudly, unawed by titles, rank, or sweeping authority. There was a touch of good-natured sufferance in his dealings with rulers and statesmen. He regarded himself as their equal, not as a person but as the chosen representative of a people that had seen empires crumble, that had survived precisely because of its confidence in the victory of righteousness over persecution, torment, and the hostility of powerful leaders. He never for a moment doubted the final victory of Zionism.

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN is chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency and head of the World Jewish Congress.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This gave him enormous pride and dignity as a representative of his people.

The beginning of his Zionism cannot be anchored to a date. Chaim Weizmann was born a Zionist. He often told how at the age of eleven or twelve he wrote a letter to his teacher in Motele expressing his faith in a Jewish state. His Zionism was never simply political. For him Zionism was the fusion and realization of the greatest traditions of Jewish history, an obligation to implement the values of Jewish civilization by casting them in the pattern of a modern state. The teaching of the prophets, the imperatives of the Bible were for him no less an integral part of Zionism than its political aspirations. He had a deep faith in the power of moral ideas. While conceding that political and physical power may be indispensable in carrying out an ideal in the framework of the grim realities of history, he never believed that these instruments were decisive. He abhorred terror, not for reasons of political expediency or for fear of the superior might of the British, but because he could not acquiesce in the theory that the noble aim justifies ignoble means. Zionism was to him, above all, a manifestation of the creativeness of the Jewish people. He envisaged a Jewish state great not in terms of territory or population, but in a cultural and moral sense. Notwithstanding his happiness over the establishment of Israel, with himself as its first President, he was sometimes disturbed, in his last years, because this aspect of Zionism had been so little implemented.

Weizmann was a great scientist. He could certainly have become one of the top chemists of our time had he not lavished most of his energy upon Zionism. He absorbed and assimilated all the riches of Russian, German, French, and English culture. But even greater than Weizmann the Jew or Weizmann the scientist was Chaim Weizmann the man. All who were granted the grace of working with him were solemnly aware of his quality. He was an artist, even in his science, and most definitely in his political genius. More profound even than his intellect was his intuition. I have been told by scientists that his greatest successes were achieved not by logical calculations but by inspired intuition. I can testify that this was also true of his political achievements. He was an artist, clinging to the precipice of his nerves, dominated by moods, and highly sensitive to atmosphere. His was not a cold, matter-of-fact world; he could not tolerate the presence of hostile opposition. He had to be surrounded by friends, warmth, sympathy. He was temperamental; he could hate and love, rage and forgive. He was spontaneous and often said and did things that ran counter to all political calculations and brought him harm. He exposed himself to attacks, was incautious in his utterances, and had nothing but supreme contempt for scheming. His was the self-assurance of a genius, and he refused to do things incompatible with his tastes and his innermost nature. He was, like all artists, an aristocrat, claiming the right to his own methods, refusing to be forced into the strait-jacket of party politics or party programs.

Chaim Weizmann

The artist in Weizmann explains his charm, to which so many succumbed. His greatest successes, even as a statesman, were aided by his unmatched charm. He had an uncanny understanding of others, an instinct which told him how to approach a particular statesman and win him to his cause. During the war Churchill, forced to pursue a non-Zionist policy, at one time refused to meet Weizmann, whom he respected and cherished. Castigated by a colleague, Churchill explained: "I am afraid to see him. I would have sleepless nights." This sovereign talent for dealing with people explains his influence with many of the leaders of our time—Balfour, Lloyd George, Churchill, Roosevelt, and others.

He lacked all the pyrotechnics of the great speaker; but the speeches of few public men have made such a lasting impression. He could demolish an opponent or capture an audience with a phrase. Yet it was not his language or his logic but the human being behind the speech that made this impression. Long after his speech was forgotten the personality of the man who had made it lingered on. It was a delight to be with Weizmann. Once admitted into his circle, you became infected with the warmth radiating from him and charging his environment. For those who worked with him, every day was a new drama and every dialogue a revelation. He had little understanding of or patience for organizational work—the inevitable rules and routine of a great organization in operation. He also had little appreciation of continuity. I once said to him, "For you each day is Genesis."

From a historical perspective the Zionist movement has not only lost its greatest leader; his death rings down the curtain on a drama-charged period in Jewish life. Herzl was the creator of the Zionist vision, Weizmann the symbol and creator of the Zionist fulfilment. Long after the contemporary image of Chaim Weizmann has passed away, he will continue to exercise influence as a symbol. He represents Zionism at its best, as a moral idea which regenerated a people and liberated it politically. But even more important, he is a symbol of Jewry's regeneration as a creative force.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Frontier Formula

THE GREAT FRONTIER. By Walter Prescott Webb. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

IN 1893 Frederick Jackson Turner pointed to the significance of the frontier in American history. Turner went on to years of productive teaching thereafter, years that were productive because he did not allow a casually turned essay to become a blinding dogma.

Among some of his students and among many of his followers who never had the advantage of personal contact with him the frontier idea became an inflexible doctrine, sufficient in itself to explain the whole course of American development and not to be amended the least jot or tittle. In "The Great Frontier" Professor Webb of the University of Texas reduces the frontier conception to its ultimate absurdity.

Professor Webb began his scholarly career with a study of the Texas Rangers, an institution he found comprehensible in terms of the frontier advance. In "The Great Plains" the frontier explained the entire character of a section; in "Divided We Stand" all American history fell into place; and in the present volume the whole history of the Western world since 1500 is fitted into the formula.

By this account the decisive event of modern times was the discovery by Western Europe—the Metropolis—of the Great Frontier. The frontier, as here defined, is the line of settlement along which Europeans have moved into free unpopulated lands. Such lands, since the sixteenth century, Professor Webb asserts, have existed only in America, Australia, and South Africa.

Professor Webb believes that the subsequent exploitation of the new territories created an economic boom that transformed Europe's modes of production and, ultimately, the whole structure of its society. Capitalism, individualism, and democracy had each its source in the frontier. The frontier also directly and vitally affected science, literature, law, and the arts. The closing of the frontier at the beginning of this century ended an era in human history. Nothing can take its place; in an unpredictable but rather dismal future all the institutions that grew out of the frontier will decay.

It will not be profitable in such a review as this to call attention to the errors of fact, the ambiguous definitions, the dubious interpretations in which the book abounds. It will be enough to indicate the fatal weakness in Webb's central conception of the great frontier.

The frontier in his sense can hardly account for the transformations of the sixteenth century with which he begins his discussion. The "metropolis" had been expanding long before the American discoveries. Indeed, the opening of the New World was but one incident in a much longer process that brought Europe also into relationship with the Levant, India, China, and the South Sea islands. Contact with these areas affected European institutions as directly and as vitally as did contact with America.

Upon closer examination the very concept of the frontier as a uniform and constant phenomenon is untenable. Even within the American continent there are significant unexplained differences. Mexico was certainly not unpopulated in the sense Virginia was. The influence of Peru upon the Old World was more analogous to that of Japan than to that of Massachusetts. And the frontier did not produce the same political and social institutions in Connecticut as in Canada.

Finally, it is necessary to remember that Europeans had already had a long experience with frontier settlement before they turned to America. (Professor Webb misses the meaning of that experience because he defines his terms to yield the result he seeks.) In Ireland, on the marches of Wales, Scotland, Pomerania, and Prussia, in the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, Europeans had planted settlements on the underpopulated lands of nomadic aborigines. In these places, however, such results as individualism and democracy did not follow upon the advance of the frontier.

That in itself is sufficient indication that the frontier was not a free force, exerting a determining invariant influence upon human affairs. The frontier was rather one of many forces affecting modern men—but in a manner shaped by the larger social context within which it operated.

OSCAR HANDLIN

Critic and Craftsman

LANGUAGE AS GESTURE. By R. P. Blackmur. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.75.

GATHERED together in this book are twenty-one of Mr. Blackmur's critical essays on poetry, most of them focused on the works of individual poets of this century. I have not searched the bibliographies or the back files of the literary magazines to determine which of his essays and reviews the author may have chosen to leave out; but certainly this volume contains, in its 440 pages of rather close print, an ample, a nearly monumental presentation of Mr. Blackmur's critical attitudes and techniques. Much of it is hard going. I do not think many, even among those who have chased fast on the heels of our contemporary critics and who have sought out Mr. Blackmur's separate essays as they first appeared, will go through this book with complete confidence in their own understanding. In part the trouble lies with Mr. Blackmur's writing, for he is a man who believes very profoundly in the drama of language, in the heightening effect of tension between form and meaning: sometimes it appears that he maneuvers his narrative to achieve the proper tenebrosity from the midst of which to discharge a lightning flash of insight. But more often the obscurity derives from the nature of Mr. Blackmur's speculations, which he pushes always into the extreme areas of contingency and uncertainty. Mr. Blackmur is a critic with a pronounced philosophical turn of mind, and if he has not produced a systematic and inclosed aesthetics, it is rather because he has not tried than because the problems he at-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tacks do not contain the fundamental questions of being and knowing.

But Mr. Blackmur is a critic after all, and it is this attribute that makes his essays doubly worth their hard reading. Aside from his arguments and abstractions, and often incidental to them, are the many extraordinarily original and enlightening perceptions of individual poems and poets with which these essays are studded—detections that astonish with their suddenness and delight with their accuracy.

Like most collections of essays, this one contains a deal of repetition, and though this is a disadvantage to the book, it may be an advantage to the reader who fails to catch the full content of Mr. Blackmur's position from one statement. Again and again, until it touches a note of hysteria and one wonders at such insistence, Mr. Blackmur speaks out against his anathema—expressive language. He makes constantly an appeal to reason, which in poetry is objective form, and he appeals too much. Now this is a fine idea and one that I and most others agree with—namely, that a good poem must contain within itself, and must express in the language it appropriately assumes, all the meanings and emotions it imparts; it must not derive from private knowledge or common feeling any of the meaning of its content or any of the power of its words. And using this elementary criterion, Mr. Blackmur is able to cut through much of the critical nonsense that has sprung from the symbolist tradition. As might be expected, he is harsh with such poets as Hart Crane and D. H. Lawrence, and he has wholehearted aproval for scarcely any of the poets he considers. But he makes his point too well, and again one seems to catch in it a note of anxiety.

The fact is, Mr. Blackmur has been attempting perhaps as difficult a critical job as was ever conceived. Staunch in his belief in objective language, he has nevertheless acknowledged readily the great extra power that words in poetic combination sometimes achieve. He has been led directly into a study of poetic language as a process for intensifying meaning: he has been concerned with the poem as an action arrested at its significant moment of movement and with the frozen eloquence of gesture in language. Especially in modern poetry, where symbol may often merge with word and where meaning may be more tactile than verbal, it has been difficult to determine how language can be poetic and still objective. Perhaps Mr. Blackmur's fearful note is near to the cry of those who push analysis to the limit of reason. And perhaps, as I think, he has been pushed himself into statements that exceed his purpose, as when he says, for instance, that poetry is "language so twisted and posed in a form that it not only expresses the matter in hand but adds to the stock of available reality." Adding to the stock of available reality is not (thank God!) the poet's function, and to say so is to try to invest poetry with faculties it does not have and does not need. Thus Mr. Blackmur arrives, by way of the back stairs, at a sort of higher romanticism, the very attic of romanticism, where we children of his prior, or downstairs, enlightenment are likely to feel timid and ill at ease.

I come back, or rather Mr. Blackmur leads us back, to his own writing, where the qualities he has pursued in other people's poetry themselves appear. Often his writing is in "language so twisted and posed in a form" that it pins down for us a feeling or observation which might otherwise escape. But occasionally one feels that Mr. Blackmur is himself attempting to add to available "reality" by saying something in a way so new and eccentric that the language will attain autonomy and lend its authority to the substance. In doing so he defeats his own purpose, both as craftsman and critic: for on one hand he is in danger of becoming incommunicable, and on the other, he shows himself to be a victim of his own idea that language itself maintains meaning. In at least one case, that of his essay on Eliot's "Four Quartets," it seems to me that the entire form trembles on the edge of turning itself into an extrinsicality—a house, say, or a kangaroo—so that the poem is an explanation of the essay.

These few comments are not intended to suggest that Mr. Blackmur is wrong, but only that if he is right we need a somewhat clearer statement of his critical aims and a somewhat simpler explanation of his notions about value, reality, and perception, in poetry as elsewhere. In a time that is remarkable for the breadth and perspicacity of its critical writing, Mr. Blackmur is certainly in the foremost rank, and this book is a very good demonstration of how he got there.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Men Who Served Hitler

IN THE NAZI ERA. By Sir Lewis Namier. St. Martin's Press. $2.25.

WITH this slim volume the eminent British historian takes leave of those of his readers who have followed his work on pre-war diplomacy—he has now returned to his chosen field of British parliamentary history. As a last instalment he offers six critical pieces on the memoirs of "men who served Hitler"—Halder, Dirksen, Weiszäcker, the brothers Kordt, Paul Schmidt—and un-

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R

JUST RECEIVED — VOL. NOS. 11 & 12
Available Now! Vols. 1 through 12

GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

IN RUSSIAN

Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps.

This new enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors include leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.

Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume

OUR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

$8.00 PER VOLUME

Latest Soviet Records, Handicrafts

We ship records to all parts of the United States, South America and Canada.

1953 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalogue E-53

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

NO LUCK FINDING A PUBLISHER?

We are established book publishers whose basic policy is to encourage new or unknown writers. If you are looking for a publisher of your novel, play, scholarly or religious work, poetry, etc., perhaps we can help you. Write today to Natalie Miller for Free Booklet 10B.
VANTAGE PRESS, 120 W. 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6356 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

der the heading Surrender to Danger five more on men and events of the international appeasement period. These sketches in particular, with their cold, precise presentation of shameful fact after shameful fact, make ghastly and absorbing reading.

In an introductory chapter, Missed Opportunities, Sir Lewis indicates certain judgments of his own by answering the question whether the Allies missed opportunities to integrate the democratic Weimar Republic into the comity of European nations, to stop Hitler, and to cooperate actively with the anti-Nazi elements in Germany. Sir Lewis concludes that they were at fault only in failing to stop Hitler and German rearmament, which would appear to be more than generous. He does not believe, either, that the conspiracy of the generals against Hitler in 1938 would have come off even if Chamberlain had not flown to Munich. He notes, however, that the news of Hitler's incredible success at Munich was received with less enthusiasm in Berlin than in Paris and London.

Nowhere does Sir Lewis remark upon the startling similarity between the German appeasers who surrendered Germany to Hitler and their French, British, and Russian counterparts (the Americans of their ilk appeared only later) who surrendered Austria and Czechoslovakia to him, though he had already shown his face and even to sit down with him meant to ignore his pogroms and the concentration camps. Plainly, Munich and the Russian participation in the rape of Poland cannot serve to excuse the German appeasers and half-hearted collaborators, but their resentment at being condemned for practices which were not spurned by those who judged them is understandable. As for the common people, first victimized and then made responsible for their own sufferings, they rarely appear in the apologias of the generals and diplomats who decided their fate or in the writings of their critics. In the present short studies there are by necessity other omissions. As a result, the book is likely to leave the general reader with a sense of unreality and may even confuse him.

"In the Nazi Era" is an extremely well-written, thought-provoking, but cursory survey for specialists.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Socialism in America

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT, 1897-1912. By Ira Kipnis. Columbia University Press. $6.

AT THE beginning of this century the German sociologist Werner Sombart wrote a little book with the title "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" The question was significant, for it was raised in what Daniel Bell has called "the 'golden age' of American socialism." This was the era in which European Socialist parties entered parliaments in growing numbers, polled votes running in the millions, and began to have impact on legislation. Yet in the United States Presidential election of 1912, the climactic year for the American Socialist Party, fewer than one million votes—6 per cent of the total vote—were cast for Eugene V. Debs.

Why this striking failure of socialism in America? Mr. Kipnis's careful and detailed history of American socialism before the First World War does not supply the answer. To be sure, "The American Socialist Movement" possesses major virtues: it is painstakingly documented and soundly written. The book presents as comprehensive and comprehensible an account of the growth of the movement as any reader could desire. The information is all here, and Mr. Kipnis clothes his solid scholarship in a lively and attractive dress. Since the movement he writes about was almost unbelievably sectarian and petty, his achievement is notable. The chief preoccupation of the various wings of the party appears to have been internecine warfare, with all hands ready to see the movement perish rather than have it disfigured by the ideology of the "others," who were clearly traitors to the working class. While most of the book is of necessity taken up with accounts of squabbles—over the name of the party, over aid to strikers, over political action, over "pure-and-simple" unionism —Mr. Kipnis manages to include some illuminating chapters on Socialist propaganda, and on the curiously know-nothing attitude of most American Socialists on questions of race and immigration. The author dwells on the immaturity of American Socialist thought with deft irony.

But the history of the movement is told, as it were, in isolation from the rest of American life. Surely, the muckrakers, the non-Socialist reform movements of Progressivism and the Wilsonian New Freedom, the growth of the American economy, the class structure of American society were all vital elements in the failure of the movement. Yet they are hardly mentioned, and in consequence we learn all about the activities of American Socialists without coming close to an understanding of the meaning of socialism to American life. The only conceptual scheme that seems to underlie this book is Mr. Kipnis's conviction that while the "shortcomings of the left were serious enough . . . major responsibility for the failure of the movement must rest upon the right wing."

It is instructive to compare this volume with Daniel Bell's brilliant long article The Background and Development of Marxian Socialism in the United States in "Socialism and American Life." Mr. Bell hardly shares Mr. Kipnis's predilection for the left; his generalizations are on occasion facile, and sometimes he is too ready to credit the evidence of professional ex-Communists. But Mr. Bell at least attempts to write meaningful history—he goes beyond the events themselves to their logic and significance. No one can dispute the utility of purely narrative history, but the first-rate historian must penetrate to the essential character of the period about which he writes, and disclose the basic realities of which the surface events are the reflection. Daniel Bell's essay undertakes, in my judgment with considerable success, to answer Sombart's fundamental question. It should therefore be read in conjunction with, and as the indispensable supplement to, Mr. Kipnis's straightforward chronicle.

PETER GAY

Verse Chronicle

KENNETH REXROTH'S "The Dragon and The Unicorn" (New Directions, $3) is one poem, a long essay in short lines, where the author discourses on places he has been and ideas he has had. For a while this reviewer was inclined to skim lightly over such passages as: "Just as the time of mathematics / Is a convention of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

measure, / So past, present, and future / Are qualifications of / Knowledge. They have no being / Outside the experience / Of possible and consequent. / They are the way discursive / Knowledge comes to us, and their / Essential relation is / One of inclusion. The past / Is less experience than the / Present and it than the future"; and to dwell with more interest on the descriptions of Welsh mountains, French food and drink, Italian people, all the human aspects in which Mr. Rexroth partakes. But before too long one succumbs, or adapts himself to the ways of this traveling companion, and listens. "The beginning of truth is / Wonder. He who wonders shall / Reign and he who reigns shall rest." The abstractions, the more general ideas, gain interest from the sensual content out of which they emerge and break. Mr. Rexroth enjoys living and people, though there is much about both he does not enjoy, and he is not at all coy about letting you know where he stands. This is on the side of the angels, whose dwindling company cannot afford to be too particular these days anyway; I am not so sure about this, and suspect that Mr. Rexroth may have more allies than he is willing to admit. All told, there is a lot of fun in this book, possibly a bit too much minstrelsy about tarts with hearts of gold, but a philosophical anarchist, same as anybody else, is entitled to his conventions.

The gey fey side of the Scots comes out in "The White Threshold," by W. S. Graham (Grove Press, $2.25). Mr. Graham, with his less flexible rhythms, sounds somewhat like a bumpier Dylan Thomas, at times only a trifle bumpier, as in

With all many men laid down in the burial heart,
Hearing spring fall and the joyfaring weather waken
Another thunder's arrival under my footfall,
I walk well over the hill of my listening dead.
I wear early April blessed in a best innocence
Won from watched wonder and all my called people
Falling behind me into the look in my eyes.

Language well wielded, here, and a good deal of exultation.

More sober in tone, more solemn in method, Stanley Burnshaw, in "Early and Late Testament" (Dial Press, $2.50), also affirms the need of the man of our time for community and love. He sounds a little desperate about it, in both his preface and the eight-section title poem, and his singing has a struggle to break through the weight of a tendency to didactic prose. "All the sad young men are looking for papa / the sad young men who think they were bad young men"—I think Mr. Burnshaw's message, the essential rightness of it, could have been more happily conveyed if he had let himself go, a little more often, with such skylarking as the quoted lines. In addition to the main poem Mr. Burnshaw has some well-turned odes, and some lyrics whose title, it seems to me, is a bit of a misnomer; it is too bad the term elegiac has lost its original meaning, which would be more appropriate for this kind of poetry, declamation with flute accompaniment, rather than the singing voice rising above the personal lyre. Mr. Burnshaw's translations of André Spire are finely made.

Roy Campbell has written "An Appreciation of Federico García Lorca, with Selected Translations of His Poetry" (Yale University Press, $2.50). I cannot help feeling a little shocked by this performance, for Mr. Campbell, one time or another, I believe, used to go around calling himself a fascist. The dirty word does not appear in his text; he claims, as a matter of fact, that Lorca's death was merely a private murder, the result of a grudge, which seems hard to believe. I do not suppose that Mr. Campbell would enjoy being likened to Hugh MacDiarmuid, but he rather reminds one of that other Scot in the way he throws his weight around. It was reactionary Spain, he states, that produced more good poets in this century than any other country; of the list he cites on page 15, he neglects to state that many, if not most, fled or were banished by the reaction. Both in his general observations and in his immediate interpretations of Lorca's poetry, however, Mr. Campbell's study is lively and at times illuminating. His translations, if I may say so, strike me as a little stiff, and, particularly in the Gipsy Ballads, forced by an insistence on Mr. Campbell's metrical theory into too rigid a form.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

WRITERS FOR TOMORROW. Second Series. Edited by Baxter Hathaway and John A. Sessions. Cornell University Press. $3. This second collection of student writing by members of Cornell University's Writers' Workshop displays a surprisingly high level of skill and an unusual variety of theme in the twenty-six stories presented. The quality of this short fiction may be attributed in part to the fact that the editors, and teachers, are largely responsible for the publication of *Epoch,* which has gained an excellent reputation in the last few years as a literary quarterly. Particularly noteworthy are three short stories by H. D. Rossiter, one of which had appeared in *Epoch,* Elaine's Hope by Ted M. Levine, and Edgar Rosenberg's The Happy One, originally published in *Commentary.*

THE NEWS IN AMERICA. By Frank Luther Mott. Harvard. $4.50. A simple, concise account of how news is collected, processed, and disseminated by large and small newspapers, wire services, and radio. While primarily informative, the book draws one important

The Nation on Microfilm *for* Libraries

Two series of *The Nation* are now available on highest quality microfilm for libraries. Vols. 1 through 105 (1865-1917), $350, (companion to index of unsigned articles published by the New York Public Library). Vols. 1 through 167 (1865-1948), $700. Write for complete information.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moral from the facts assembled—that the most dangerous trend in journalism today is not the decline in the number of papers but the over-emphasis on "soft" or unimportant news at the expense of "hard" or significant items.

THE NATURE OF GAMBLING. By David D. Allen. Coward-McCann. $3.50. A systematic analysis of the role and function of gambling in an attempt to find indisputable answers to three questions: Is it natural? Is it harmful? Is it suppressible? The answers arrived at are in each case affirmative. This academic approach to a lusty subject seems at first glance to be slightly comical but ends by being definitely illuminating.

IN SEARCH OF CHOPIN. By Alfred Cortot. Translated by Cyril and Rena Clarke. Bibliography and Discography Compiled by Cyril Clarke. Abelard Press. $3.50. This sentimental *causerie* on The Hand of Chopin, Chopin the Pedagogue, and so on, like all sentimentality, dishonors rather than dignifies its subject. Poor little Chopin again. Also there are not two concretely perceptive words about the music. All the vices of the intimate tone are here—breathy irrationality, lyrical banality, "unashamed" feeling. In addition the virtues of intimate contact with a third-rate mind.

Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

FOLLOWING the lead of the *diseuse* of the New York *Times,* Miss Louchheim, I offer some critical resolutions for the New Year. First, to speak favorably of whatever promising new work I am able to review within the limits of a monthly column. Second, not to speak unfavorably of what I do not like unless the artist already has an established reputation. Third, not to hesitate to attack an inflated reputation. Fourth, to balance the claims of past and present. Fifth, to write for informed consumers, not producers, of art—on the theory that criticism has little reason to expect to influence an artist—who, if he is any good, knows what he is about—and much reason to hope to develop a sympathetic audience for quality in art, wherever it may appear.

I have no hesitation whatever in advising anyone interested in these propositions that the Kootz Gallery has been showing on its walls a new work of Adolf Gottlieb, called Unstill Life, which is one of the major designs not only of this artist but of the present decade. Gone is the division of the canvas into some two dozen pictographs, related chiefly by a decorative scheme, through which Gottlieb has until lately been expressing his private world, relying all too heavily on symbolic association supplied by the spectator. Instead, this canvas is a single entity, a crablike design powerful in its contrasts of black and red on a white ground, and at the same time poetic in its sensitive variations within the white ground itself and in the atmospheric pinks and grays that link the blacks and reds. Unstill Life comes sufficiently to terms with contemporary restlessness, but its title belies its ultimate internal oneness, which I find classic in the sense of the best—not the recent—work of Léger.

All of this seems to imply that Gottlieb is now ready for major opportunities as a mural painter. These remarks are addressed, therefore, primarily to modern architects or those in a position to bring them to the attention of such architects. We have progressed a long way since Radio City, when the big wall surfaces of then not quite modern architecture were given over to false artists—what Walter Pach called the Ananiases—of that time. Escaping from the bitter winds that were shaking Radio City's magnificent Christmas tree one evening last week, I dodged into the main lobby. I have always thought that the removal of Diego Rivera's mural was more of a loss for artistic freedom than for the history of art, but I had not realized that Jose Maria Sert had in the meantime painted some additional square yards of his sepia murals on this surface. It seems clear to me that these works have rather less excuse for existence than John W. Alexander's Apotheosis of Pittsburgh, et cetera, on the stair well of the Carnegie Institute, because the latter were at least representative of the prevailing taste of their day.

There is reason to believe that Gottlieb and other potentially major mural painters of mid-century America will in fact receive opportunities of the sort I am speaking of. But these, with the few chances that have come their way so far, will at best constitute only a beginning. I recall a statement by Wallace Harrison some years ago at an exhibition sponsored by Vassar College to the effect that the greatest single influence on architecture of the past hundred years has been the painting of Picasso, Léger, and Juan Gris. It is more than time for successful architects in the modern idiom to repay their indebtedness—by placing mural commissions at the disposal of the rightful younger successors of these old masters of modern art.

In line with resolution number three, stated above, I have little hesitation in pronouncing Salvador Dali's latest productions (Carstairs Gallery) artistic junk. There is a new subject matter, according to the artist marking a shift from Freud to nuclear physics, but I do not seem to recall any historical instance of artistic salvation through iconography. The current items exhibit the same dreadful wastage of talent, like the agile pianist who lives for the cadenza, which one has seen in Dali so many times before.

A dozen tapestries, from paintings by as many modern artists (Sidney Janis Gallery), demonstrate that when texture is eliminated from modern oil painting, its heart is torn out. The chief exception to this statement—Etoile Polychrome by Léger (1937)—proves the rule: Léger's work of the past fifteen years has gone blandly decorative. A recent oil at the Kootz Gallery supports this negative judgment. Much as I admire the Léger of 1910 to 1925, and of perhaps a decade later, I fear the recent work is more at home in the salons of the Liberté than, let us say, in the United Nations Building.

Speaking of textureless art, I may refer briefly to the exhibition, recently opened at the Museum of Modern Art, on the early twentieth-century Dutch movement known as De Stijl. This is a small segment of a big show which was organized in 1951 by the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, and went to the Biennale in Venice last year. The main significance of this exhibition is, of course, architectural, and I shall not question its importance for the history

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of architecture and the relationship of the several arts within an architectural complex. Unlike wines and Martinis, however, painting can suffer from dryness.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN MY recent review of the Toscanini recording of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony I forgot to mention one noteworthy feature of the performance—the extraordinarily and excessively slow tempo of the second movement. This was a change from the traditional faster tempo of his previous performances of the movement, and a change out of line with his recent tendency to play everything faster. My guess is that this time he felt impelled to obey the Larghetto in the score literally; and I won't be surprised if next time he feels impelled to obey again the impulse of the flow of the music toward the traditional Andante. For the fact is that there are such different decisions, each strongly felt at the moment, producing such changes from one performance to the next. When I wrote that Toscanini's tendency in recent years has been away from elasticity to strictness in tempo I should have added that there have been momentary reversals of the tendency: an American now in England wrote me about the many changes of pace in the Toscanini performances of Brahms's symphonies in London in September; and I was told of equally astonishing retardations in the recent performance of the Brahms Third here. Also, the tendency has been to play everything faster; but the recent Beethoven Eighth was slower and more relaxed than the one Toscanini recorded ten years ago.

These inconsistencies occur also in Toscanini's choices of music to play: the standards which don't permit him to play Tchaikovsky's Fifth do permit him to play Wagner's Ride of the Valkyrs, Saint-Saëns's Danse Macabre, Kabalevsky's "Colas Breugnon" Overture. However it works the other way too: if Toscanini has persisted for twenty-five years in playing those innocuous little pieces by Martucci he has persisted as long in playing parts and finally the whole of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" which nobody else has done; he gave us performances of "Harold in Italy" when nobody else was doing it here; and he gave us our first experiences of Beethoven's Missa Solemnis. His program-making certainly has been open to criticism, but not to some of the criticisms it has received. He has played some bad music, but no more, I am quite sure, than other conductors. The difference has been that he has played bad music by Italians while the others have played bad music by Russians and Americans; and I don't agree that this constitutes the difference between bad program-making and good.

The bad music is of course regrettable and hard to take, especially when Toscanini is reported to have declared this is his last season. It is difficult to imagine him drawing breath and not being involved with an orchestral score, or studying the score and not being impelled to bring the work to life with an orchestra; but if one accepts the possibility that he will do as he says one is appalled by the waste of some of these precious last broadcasts, which might have provided last hearings of the performances of Schubert's C major and Berlioz's "Harold" and "Romeo," but instead are devoted to Saint-Saëns's C minor Symphony, a whole program of Martucci, and other less consequential matters. But on the other hand there has been the broadcast devoted to Act 2 of Gluck's "Orfeo"; there will be the one devoted to Debussy; and there will be the final Beethoven series concluding with the Missa Solemnis.

It is not Toscanini but Cantelli who one week has offered an excellent program comprising Mozart's Symphony K.201 and Bartok's Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celesta, and the next week has combined distinguished matters like Haydn's Symphony No. 88 and Stravinsky's "Jeu de cartes" with Ravel's Bolero. The performances gave us each work as something completely and beautifully and effectively achieved —except that the marches in "Jeu de cartes" were played too fast for their proper effect.

The playing of the NBC Symphony this year has again been something to marvel at; and if Toscanini's retirement brings the orchestra's existence to an end it will be a deplorable loss. As for the transmission over the air, NBC still cannot bring itself to use the CBS microphone set-up that achieves such excellent transmission of the New York Philharmonic, but persists in the monkeying around that transmits the NBC Symphony performances with a loss of some of the beauty they have in Carnegie Hall.

Cantelli's completely and beautifully achieved performance of the Musorgsky-Ravel "Pictures at an Exhibition" with the NBC Symphony has been issued by RCA Victor, reproduced with excellent over-all sound but with a few imperfections—e. g., the discontinuities in volume in the saxophone solo of *The Old Castle*; the not excessive hash around the huge sonorities at the end. On the same record is a beautiful performance of Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet" that Cantelli recorded in England with the Philharmonia Orchestra—the dubbed recorded sound good but requiring stepping up of bass and volume.

Though illness prevented me from hearing the Little Orchestra Society's repetition of Berlioz's "L'Enfance du Christ" I would like to report what a discriminating friend told me—that

"SEASON'S FUNNIEST PLAY"
—N. Y. Times, Daily News, Newsweek, The New Yorker
JOHN GOLDEN offers the
JAMES THURBER-ELLIOTT NUGENT Comedy
The Male Animal
with BUDDY NANCY LAWRENCE
EBSEN COLEMAN FLETCHER
Eves. Incl. Sun.: $4.60, $3.60, $3.00, $2.40, $1.80. Mats. Wed. & Sat.: $3.60 $3.00, $2.40, $1.80, $1.20. Tax. Incl.
MUSIC BOX THEATRE, 45th St. West of B'way

YUL BRYNNER
in
RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
The King and I
A New Musical Play
with CONSTANCE CARPENTER
ST. JAMES THEATRE, West 44 St.
Evenings at 8:25: $7.20 to 1.80. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday at 2:25: $4.20 to 1.80.
MONDAY EVES. ONLY: CURTAIN AT 7 SHARP
R & H
MARTHA WRIGHT
GEORGE BRITTON
in
South Pacific
with MYRON McCORMICK • WILLIAM TABBERT • MARTIN WOLFSON
and JUANITA HALL
MAJESTIC THEATRE, West 44 St.
Eves. at 8:30: $6.00 to 1.80. Wed. Mat. at 2:30: $3.60 to 1.20. Sat. Mat. $4.20 to 1.20.
MONDAY EVES. ONLY: CURTAIN AT 7 SHARP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

benefiting by last year's rehearsals and performance with the same musicians Thomas Scherman conducted a very fine performance of the remarkable work, in which there was especially beautiful singing again by Donald Gramm, bass, Leopold Simoneau, tenor, and William Jonson's Choral Art Society, and good singing this time by Martial Singher. I think it would be a good idea for Mr. Scherman to make the performance an annual Christmas event.

CONTRIBUTORS

OSCAR HANDLIN, a member of the History Department at Harvard University, is the author of "The Uprooted."

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry*, is on the staff of Intercultural Publications.

FRANZ HOELLERING is the author of two novels, "The Defenders" and "Furlough."

PETER GAY, instructor in government at Columbia University, has recently published "The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism."

PERSONALS

VACUUM CLEANER—Rated BEST by Independent Consumer Research Organization. Regularly $78.50—**SPECIAL $54.95—10 DAY TRIAL PERIOD.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 30 MINUTE FREE PARKING.

YOUNG Asian student desires private tuition in dancing. Box 342, c/o The Nation.

WOMAN, European background, would do wholesome cooking, light housework for couple or single person, exchange room, moderate salary. Box 341, c/o The Nation.

YOUNG MAN, 30, lost in Pittsburgh, interested in art, music, books, wishes acquaintance with young lady similarly inclined. Box 328, c/o The Nation.

MALE, youthful 49'er, interested in politics, singing, hiking, and literature, would welcome spirited female correspondence. Box 340, c/o The Nation.

WOULD YOU like to meet someone who might like to meet you? Write for free copyrighted pamphlet. Address Box 296, c/o The Nation.

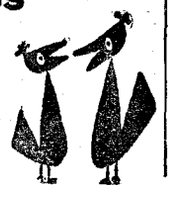
exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone, who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.'

Write for booklet, or phone

MAY RICHARDSON

Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Is Mediation Still Possible?

Dear Sirs: After the rejection of the Indian proposals by Russia, I hope *The Nation* will reexamine its belief that mediation is still even remotely possible. For a long time I held on to the hope that the Russians wanted to end the Korean war or that they might not be confusing ends and means. It is folly to hope so now. It is inescapable that the Russians are quite willing to fight to the last North Korean and Chinese Communist.

Can *The Nation* still believe that mediation is possible with the "ruling circles" of the U. S. S. R.? The Russians want concessions and conciliatory gestures, not mediation. What was called a policy of appeasement in Hitler's time is now called a policy of mediation. . . .

And the purge in Czechoslovakia. Is this evidence of a truth-loving, liberal, progressive regime, or is it another terrifying display of Soviet fascism? How much evidence does *The Nation* need to be convinced that mediation is impossible with totalitarians?

The Nation has been critical and rightfully alarmed at the undermining of freedom here at home. "How Free Is Free?" hit many bull's-eyes. Its appraisals of the F. B. I., of our State Department's bumbling nonsense over passports, of McCarran and McCarthy are right. . . . I do not say that affairs here are healthy, but I would like *The Nation* to exercise a little more judgment concerning the Soviet "ruling circles" when internal freedom is being discussed. In fact, *The Nation* might do well to publish a list of the responsible liberals—artists, writers, journalists, scientists, and *Nation* staff members—who can travel freely in the U. S. S. R.; the list won't take much space. Ask Mr. Werth whether Russia opens its arms to travelers. . . .

New York JACOB D. HAMMER

How to Break the Korean Deadlock

Dear Sirs: The Communists' rejection of the Indian proposal on Korea has widely been taken as ruling out any formula of "voluntary" repatriation at this time. But Russia's offer to postpone repatriation and Stalin's reply to James Reston, published recently in the New York *Times*, hint that if a really practical proposal is put forward, China and North Korea may settle for less than unconditional repatriation.

In providing a bipartisan commission and taking all prisoners out of the hands of their captors before a vote is held, the Indian proposal tacitly invalidated the earlier U. N. poll as coercive and prejudical. In line with Vishinsky's suggestion, a revised draft of the Indian proposal should underscore this point. The groundwork for the first poll was laid by the U. N. in December, 1950, in a resolution which construed "voluntary" repatriation as being consistent with the Geneva Convention. By a bill of particulars citing this and certain other pertinent facts, a revised Indian formula could make it clear that the first poll was not intended to prolong the war.

As a result of the first poll, the 50,000 prisoners of war who renounced their allegiance to North Korea and China were fatally compromised. They were indoctrinated against changing their minds by the anti-totalitarian programs the U. N. ran in the prisoner-of-war camps until the Red Cross put a stop to them. A revised Indian formula should not allow its poll to become a façade to legitimize the results of the first poll. It should accept Vishinsky's criticism that the first poll created new coercive condition that a new poll cannot remove unless extraordinary measures are now taken.

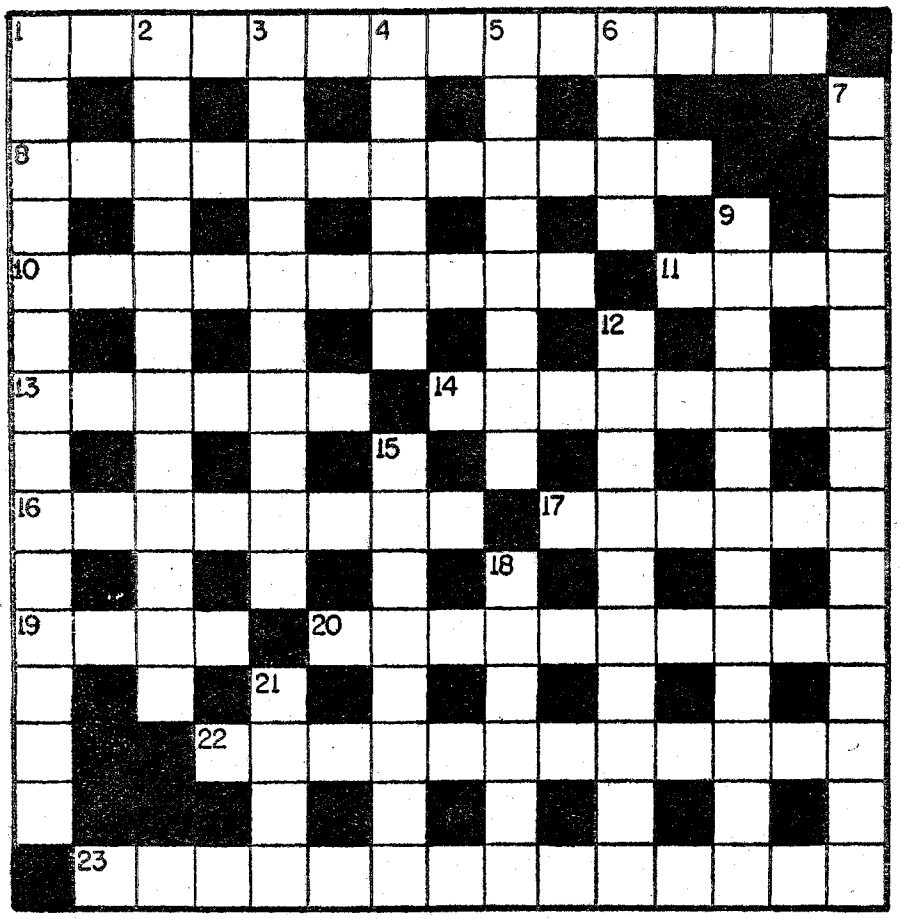
A pledge would have to be included in the new Indian formula binding official agencies of all countries to refrain from using the results of the poll as a propaganda weapon, because if they were they would undoubtedly imperil subsequent peace negotiations. No loophole could be left whereby the U. N., a party to the dispute, would be allowed to select the umpire who casts the deciding vote on the bipartisan commission. For only an umpire acceptable to both sides would give China and North Korea reasonable assurance that the commission would adopt rules of procedure granting them an opportunity to "unindoctrinate" their own men captured by the U. N. forces and prevent those who reject repatriation from being forcibly incorporated in Chiang Kai-shek's army.

New Brunswick, N. J. ALAN SILVER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 498

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 All the way from red to violet? (9, 5)
8 Waxed in the automobile like 14? (12)
10 See 23
11 Youth movement a foreign country formed. (4)
13 One speaks of giving one of these to new enterprises. (6)
14 Kept doctored? (8)
16 He sounds and looks as though he's in the van! (8)
17 A common complaint for a bird!
19 Desserts might imply duties if you take off with them. (4)
20 Despite the name, one shouldn't go faster in them. (5, 5)
22 If you waste, one hopes you don't have to blame it on this. (12)
23 and 10 Implying thos e who come comparatively early in the week are pretty forward. (7, 5, 2, 4, 2, 4)

DOWN

1 Did their inhabitants rely on sheer protection? (5, 9)
2 Countercharges. (12)
3 Some sorrel grows wild, but not specifically. (4, 2, 4)
4 One does when starting a drive, perhaps. (3, 3)
5 Gambling can get it confused in one whose job was mediating. (8)
6 Staff insigne. (4)
7 Russian and French, perhaps, with such a make-up as saddens girls. (5, 9)
9 Is it time for the Russian plan? (12)
12 It should be a high-sounding method of preparing chicken. (10)
15 Is this a standing condition? (Or the position of an inclined plane?) (8)
18 Characterized by great excitement. (6)
21 This old animal might be a real friend! (4)

—— ✻ ——

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 497

ACROSS:—1 VALEDICTION; 9 BROCCOLI; 10 LANDAU; 11 STILTON; 12 CURRIED; 14 MONDAY; 15 OPHIDIAN; 17 CROSSBAR; 20 ORMOLU; 22 SWIPING; 24 ASHTRAY; 26 ONEIDA; 27 CRUISING; 28 ALLITERATED.

DOWN:—2 ACCOLADES; 3 ECONOMY; 4 and 5 IT IS TO LAUGH; 6 OWNER; 7 GROTTO; 8 and 20 CAMERA OBSCURA; 13 BOERS; 16 DEMITASSE; 18 ROWENA; 19 BENGASI; 21 LEARNS; 23 PHIAL; 25 ACRE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel Mahopac 8-3449

APARTMENT WANTED

BUSINESS woman desires to share apartment in Manhattan, not below the nineties, GLenwood 2-3238.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

PUBLICITY
for labor groups, trade associations, civic organizations and business corporations
JESSE GORDON & ASSOCIATES
Public Relations
1819 Broadway New York, N. Y.

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS! TV-MINDED? You do not have to be a television writer to write for TV. Outline, synopsis, plot, etc., will suffice. Write: MEAD LITERARY AGENCY, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOK SPECIALS
MAO TSE-TUNG by Robert Payne • An enlightening biography. 303 pp. **Reg. $3.50**
PEKING DIARY by Derk Bodde • Outstanding eye-witness account of city life before, during and after Communist ascension. 292 pp. **Reg. $3.75**
NOW only $1.50 each, postpaid
WELLINGTON'S 346 Concord Ave., Belmont, Mass

OUR SPECIALTY
Locating out-of-print books. We search and report free. DELTA BOOK SERVICE, Dept. N, 2856 Woodlawn Terrace, Memphis, Tenn.

CONSPIRACY FOR WAR
By Norman Mackenzie
A Study of the China Lobby and of its Plot Against Peace and against Democracy in the United States. 25¢
List of other recent U. D. C. publications sent on request.
Order from
UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL
21 Strutton Ground, Victoria Street
London, S. W. 1
or The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, N. Y. 7

Advertising Rates
CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
•
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
•
The NATION
TWENTY VESEY STREET
New York 7, New York
BArclay 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by Stinehour Press, Inc., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine..$9.50

You save $2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports..$10.75

You save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12

☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR
MILITARY RATE IS AVAILABLE ONLY WHEN MAGAZINE IS SENT TO A MILITARY ADDRESS

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

1/10/58

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation.*

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED